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The East-West thaw vs. the deep freeze keep capitals jumpy

By Kumar Goshal

PERHAPS IT WAS ONLY a coincidence that on Thurs., Feb. 5, related dramatic statements were made in Moscow, London and Washington. On that day Premier Khrushchev wound up the 21st Congres of the Soviet Communist Party, British Prime Minister Macmillan told Parliament he was leaving Feb. 21 for a week's visit to the Soviet Union, and Washington made public a tape recording of voices purported to be those of Russian fighter pilots transcribed when they were allegedly shooting down a U.S. Air Force transport over Soviet Armenia five months ago.

In his closing speech to the CP Congress, Khrushchev declared he wanted to forget past tensions between Washington and Moscow and "look to the future." But he said he noted that President Eisenhower, Secy. Dulles and Vice President Nixon were "reverting to their old bellicose phraseology" to halt the thaw which followed Soviet Deputy Premier Mikoyan's visit to the U.S.

INVITATION TO IKE: Khruschchev warned that U.S. bases abroad only endangered Washington's allies. He said: "The readiness displayed by the U.S. leaders to sacrifice their allies, their disregard of the destiny of mankind for the sake of their narrow interests, is nothing short of a mercantile approach, a policy of merchants of death . . ."

Khrushchev invited President Eisenhower to visit the Soviet Union, bring with him "any one he likes" and "pick out the places he would like to visit."

Addressing the Western powers Khrushchev said: "All we want is an early end to the cold war." He said:

"We want each system to show its economic and spiritual powers in . . . this competition . . . Let's lay out our 'wares.' Let each system show how long the working day is, how much material and spiritual benefits are received by the working man, what housing he is provided, what chances he has of getting an education, what part he takes . . . in the political life of his country, who is master of all the material and cultural riches."

BRITAIN IMPRESSED: Khrushchev's speech made a strong impression in Britain, where Dulles had just finished conferring with Prime Minister Macmillan.

(Continued on Page 8)

HAS DULLES MADE HIS LAST TRIP AS SECRETARY OF STATE?

The world speculated last week whether John Foster Dulles' new illness meant his full retirement and, if it did, whether this signified a change in U.S. policy. With an unwilling President and a failing Secretary, the opportunities seemed to be favorable for a fresh and positive mind to step in and accept the facts of life.

THE LBJ BRAND

Johnson gives Congress cue: Compromise!

By Louis E. Burnham

RECENT ACTION and maneuvers on housing, airport construction and civil rights would seem to confirm the impression that the 86th is likely to go down in history as the Lyndon B. Johnson Congress.

The Texas Democrat plainly views his problem as a two-fold one: (1) how to oppose the Administration's fiscal conservatism without invoking the President's veto; (2) how to lead the Democratic Congressional army into a battle whose objective is not victory but compromise.

The Federal housing bill, first major piece of social legislation to clear the Senate, bore the unmistakeable LBJ brand. It authorized expenditures of $2,675,000,000 over a period of six years. While this was about $1,000,000,000 more than requested by the President, it fell considerably short of liberal Democrats' proposals.

THE BILL'S PROVISIONS: The measure, sponsored by Sen. John Sparkman and Rep. Albert Rains, both of Alabama, provides funds for slum clearance, loans to colleges for dormitories and academic facilities, new mortgage insurance for the Federal Housing Administration, direct housing loans to rural veterans and authority for 51,000 new low-rent public housing units.

Johnson engineered a cut of $100,000,000 in the outlay for college construction. This placed the appropriation at $300,000,000, still a good $100,000,000 above the President's grossly inadequate request.

On direct aid to veterans in rural areas, Johnson backed a move to halve the authorization from $300,000,000 to $150,000,000. In this area President Eisenhower had proposed that the government spend nothing.

On the heels of the Senate action the House passed a similar measure. It seemed certain that as soon as a joint committee had worked over minor differences Congress would be ready to send to the White House the Housing Act of 1959.

On the heels of the Senate action the agreement: Republicans and Democrats of all shades of opinion felt the banks needed a lift. They voted to increase from 4¾% 5¼% the allowable interest rate ceiling on veterans mortgages guaranteed by the Government.

THE AIRPORT BILL: The Johnson

(Continued on Page 10)

THE MYTH: HIGH WAGES CAUSED THE RECESSION

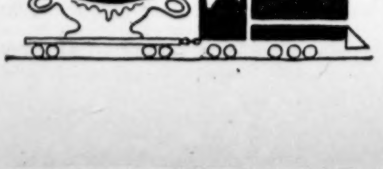
President's Economic Report is a slander on labor

By Victor Perlo

THE PRESIDENT'S Economic Report, prepared by his Council of Economic Advisers and submitted to the Congress last month, contains many platitudes and evasions. But in one area it is direct: it slanders and threatens labor and calls for restrictive labor legislation.

The chief slander is that union labor caused higher prices during the 1958 slump by demanding and getting excessive wages increases. Also implied is (1) that over-high wages helped bring about the crisis; (2) that they are preventing recovery of employment; (3) that labor can be blamed for the next slump. Here is the "proof":

"Wages, salaries, and employee fringe benefits have increased at rates above those consistent with the long-run productivity performance of the economy. As a result, employee compensation per unit of output, which had been fairly stable between 1953 and 1955, rose about 10 percent in the next two years. This persistent advance in costs of all types naturally exerted an upward pressure on prices."



PHONY STATISTICS: The 10% calculation is obtained by dividing a distorted numerator by a meaningless denominator. As figured in the Report, less than half of the "compensation of employees" consists of payments to manufacturing production workers, construction workers and others both engaged in commodity production and typically involved in collective bargaining wage settlements.

Lumped in are the swelling payments to government employees, engineers paid out of government funds for military research and development, advertising men, salesmen of insurance, encyclopedias and mutual funds, trade and service employees of all kinds. The production measure is a statistical monstrosity which gives material value to these assorted activities.

Labor is unable to stop the Pentagon from hiring missile engineers and airbase service personnel, giant corporations from spending $10 billion yearly for advertising, rich men from hiring serv-

(Continued on Page 9)

Inside the Guardian this week

Report of a tour of U.S. campuses . . . . p. 3
Castro in Venezuela, by Harvey O'Connor . . . . p. 5
Portrait of mystery man Soustelle . . . . p. 6
Jimcrow in the House of Labor . . . . p. 7
Spectator: Land of the Tuscaroras . . . . p. 12

THE MAIL BAG

A cue from the Pope

ISLAND PARK, N.Y.

Since 1939 the Holy See has accredited the ambassadors of a Lithuania which no longer exists, and a Polish Government-in-Exile which has long since disbanded.

But in December, 1958, these two ambassadors were advised that their credentials would not be accepted.

L'Osservatore Romano, official Vatican paper, explained: "It hapens that, as a result of a situation which is too well known to need amplification, the Polish and Lithuanian representatives are not in position to present documents which could be recognized as diplomatically valid according to international law."

Is it not a fact that all governments which observe international law must recognize those governments which have the control and support of their people? How can Chiang's representatives continue to be recognized as China's?

Let us face facts and recognize China.

J. B. Stanley

Havoc and death

BRIXHAM, ENGLAND

During Christmas week an American Sabrejet plane, out of control, crashed in a Suffolk village leaving a trail of fire, havoc and death. The pilot, using an ejector seat, landed five miles away.

It is an interesting thought that thousands of American taxpayers have been mulcted to achieve this spectacular result: the death of a young Englishwoman and the destruction of much valuable property.

Rhoda Clarke

United Neighbors

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

Recently, as some of you already know, a group of hard-pressed small farmers (mostly Negroes) in one area in East Texas appealed to their Congressman for help. Shortly after this joint appeal, things began to happen! Much to their joy and amazement, they began to receive calls from local U.S. farm agents with inquiries as to how they might help. Later, we learned that the same unusual action was taking place in other rural sections of East Texas—and many believe that the good effects will be felt beyond the state boundaries in other oppressed and too-often neglected areas of the deep South.

During the past few years, much has already been done through the effective work of community service committees which are composed largely of small impoverished farmers, sharecroppers and farm laborers (but including many teachers, religious leaders, etc.). Their collective efforts, now coordinated through the United Neighbors movement, have helped many in their constant, desperate struggle to provide food, clothing and housing for their loved ones; and in striving for more of the civil and human rights to which all Americans are entitled.

Since returning to San Antonio, we are able to devote more time and energy to research and distribution of vital information—and in helping to provide funds for maintaining and expanding this important work. We sincerely believe that this all-embracing United Neighbors movement is doing a down-to-earth job which is second-to-none in the rural South today. It needs and certainly deserves our help and support.

Harry Koger,
637 Santa Clara Walk

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

In Baldwin Park, Police Chief Louis Ben Torres came up with a unique idea for keeping kids off the street. He suggested letting boys of 16 into the pool halls. They can't get in now until they're 18 . . .

—Los Angeles **Times, 2/1**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: H. R., Los Angeles 36.

Like what?

BALTIMORE, MD.

On pages 71-72 of **What is to be Done?** Lenin quotes workers as saying: "Intellectuals must talk to us less on what we already know, and tell us more about what we do not know and what we can never learn from our factory and economic experience."

The GUARDIAN seems to be very carefully avoiding any really controversial and "explosive" subjects.

Name Withheld

Holdup

SEATTLE, WASH.

Think you might like to know about this. Months ago I ordered from a Canadian firm the **Economic Geography of the U.S.S.R.** It didn't arrive so I wrote and received a copy by registered mail.

Now, months later, I get a notice from the St. Paul Post Office that they are holding said book until I write them whether or not I want it delivered and if not, they will destroy after 15 days.

This is my reply to them:

"Am at a loss to understand why the book was not delivered on time . . . .

"Ours is supposed to be a free country. We have certain inalienable rights that are not to be tampered with or suppressed. While you have been holding my mail I have had to go to the trouble and expense of getting another book.

"You can return the book to the return address given on the package. Make sure same is not destroyed."

Edna F. Hansen

All is forgiven

CRYSTAL LAKE, ILL.

After reading the explanation by the editors of why many letters from subscribers to the Mail Bag cannot be printed for various reasons, I decided to withdraw my threat of cancelling my subscription and regular contribution for not printing mine.

I thought I was discriminated against because of my rather extreme Leninist views expressed on the Pasternak matter. I now understand that the editor has to cope with difficult problems while trying to deal with letter writers fairly.

The GUARDIAN is not a Marxist periodical but I do like many articles by staff reporters, the cartoons and discussion on U.S. foreign policy. Best wishes for success in 1959.

Leonard Deenik

All for Liberty

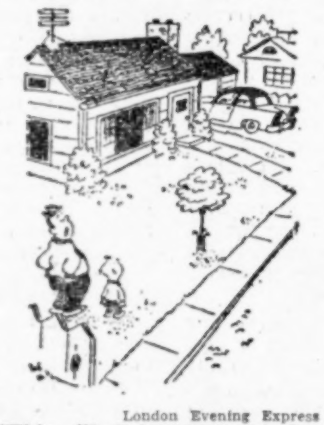
NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Power Elite is an essential book in understanding the forces at work in our country today. Liberty Book Club has done a great service in making it the first of their new $1 books, and I hope everyone will take it and read it.

I am strongly in favor of any enterprise which will make important books available to labor at a price labor can afford. Liberty deserves the fullest support, such as the GUARDIAN is giving it.

Julius Emspak

Julius Emspak is secretary-treasurer of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE)—Editor.



London Evening Express

"This will all be yours some day son—provided, of course, you keep up the payments."

Erwin Kraft, 1884-1959

(In Memoriam)

One who never turned his back
but marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better
Sleep to wake.

Brotherhood Chapter of the New York Jewish Conference

Mandel and Chicago

BERKELEY, CALIF.

Station WFMT, Chicago, which has been carrying my program, "Soviet Press and Periodicals," informs me that in keeping with its general emphasis as a fine arts" station, it is dropping all six programs in its world press commentary series, including my own. Other reasons, it says, are the quality of the separate programs as well as the series as a whole. However, my own program is then described to me in terms of highest praise.

It is quite possible that the station felt that it could not drop the others and retain only one dealing with the USSR. I believe they can be convinced that there are sound reasons for retaining my program, alone if need be. It is only our relations with the Soviet Union that determine whether or not we will remain at peace.

My program is scheduled to be heard for the last time on Feb. 22. Letters and phone calls should go to Bernard Jacobs, Station Manager, or Norman Pellegrini, Program Director, WFMT, 221 N. LaSalle St., Chicago 1, Ill.

William Mandel

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE HOUSE GRANTED the Un-American Activities Committee a $200,000 appropriation on Wednesday, as requested. One man in Congress sought to make Democrats redeem a campaign pledge to halt the circus antics of the Committee: New York's Labor Party Representative Vito Marcantonio tried and failed to block the appropriation in committee.

When it came to the House floor he demanded and got a roll call vote. Only 28 Congressmen voted with him; 352 voted yes. "Another Democratic promise has gone down the drain," said Marcantonio. Meanwhile the trial of Rep. J. Parnell Thomas, former Republican chairman of the Committee, on salary kickback charges, was postponed once more—this time to March 9.

—National Guardian, Feb. 14, 1949

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Vol. 11, No. 18 401 February 16, 1959

REPORT TO READERS

If this be treason . . .

IN THE FOURTH MONTH of the Korean War, the Hon. Elmer A. Benson, former governor of Minnesota and a former U.S. Senator, wrote the following paragraphs in the GUARDIAN, under the headline: "The right to oppose war—at any time." We draw upon this argument at this time in connection with the Powell-Schuman case, the charges in which have now been changed to treason following a mistrial in their prosecution for alleged sedition. All the charges against the three derive from writings in the **China Monthly Review** in the period 1950-53, opposing the Korean War.

Benson cited the opposition of William Lloyd Garrison and Abraham Lincoln to the Mexican War of 1848, and the Hon. Robert Morse to the war against the Philippines in 1899. Benson wrote:

SHALL WE NOW STAND IN FEAR of these false clamors of 'treason' and 'sedition', or shall we exercise the Constitutional right Morse and Garrison invoked, the duty of which they remind us, to oppose unrighteous war in time of war?

"To the fearful and the clamorers alike, I recommend study of that Constitution which should and must be our yardstick as Americans. With purposeful clarity, to prevent future misinterpretation, it thus defines treason, the one political crime (Art. III, Sec. iii):

> Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act or on confession in open court.

THE FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION had a purpose in thus narrowing the limits of political crime. It was explained in **The Federalist** (written by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton and John Jay to explain the Constitution to the people), Vol. XXXIII:

> As new-fangled and artificial treasons have been the great engines by which violent factions, the natural offsprings of government, have usually wreaked their alternate malignity on each other, the convention have, with great judgment, opposed a barrier to this peculiar danger, by inserting a constitutional definition of the crime, fixing the proof necessary for the conviction of it . . .

"Yet still the people insisted that the limits of political crime be further narrowed and defined [in the Bill of Rights] to get rid of the English common-law concept of sedition, the biggest legal barrier to discussion of public issues . . .

"The Bill of Rights and the Constitution's definition of treason smashed the concept of verbal treason. Words do not constitute an overt act. The men who fought for American independence clearly intended to abolish forever prosecutions for criticism of the government without any incitement to law-breaking."

IN THE MILLIGAN CASE just after the Civil War, the Supreme Court ruled that the Constitution is "a law for rulers and people equally in war and peace . . . No doctrine is more pernicious than that any of its great provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government . . . "

Indeed the sedition law of 1917 (known as the Espionage Act) was put on the books precisely because the government doubted at that time that the treason statute, with its constitutional shield, could be invoked against utterances. So the new law was passed and, as Basil Maddy recalls in the December **Action for Human Welfare** (Norwalk, O.), a 17-year-old girl got a 15-year sentence under it for passing out leaflets against the 14-nation assault, led by the U.S. and Britain, against the newborn Soviet Union. Gene Debs, too, was jailed under the law, as were dozens of others for opposing World War I, and the Supreme Court backed up the sentences with Justice Holmes' "clear and present danger" doctrine. In our time the Rosenbergs were executed for conspiracy to violate this law, and Morton Sobell is serving a 30-year sentence for the same alleged conspiracy.

The opposition to the Korean War which Elmer Benson urged in the GUARDIAN at the height of that war—or, more accurately, that UN police action—on behalf of a handful of progressives grew to include Sen. Taft, financier Joseph Kennedy in the **Wall Street Journal**, and ultimately a determined plurality of Americans who elected Eisenhower in 1952 because they understood him to say he would end the fighting.

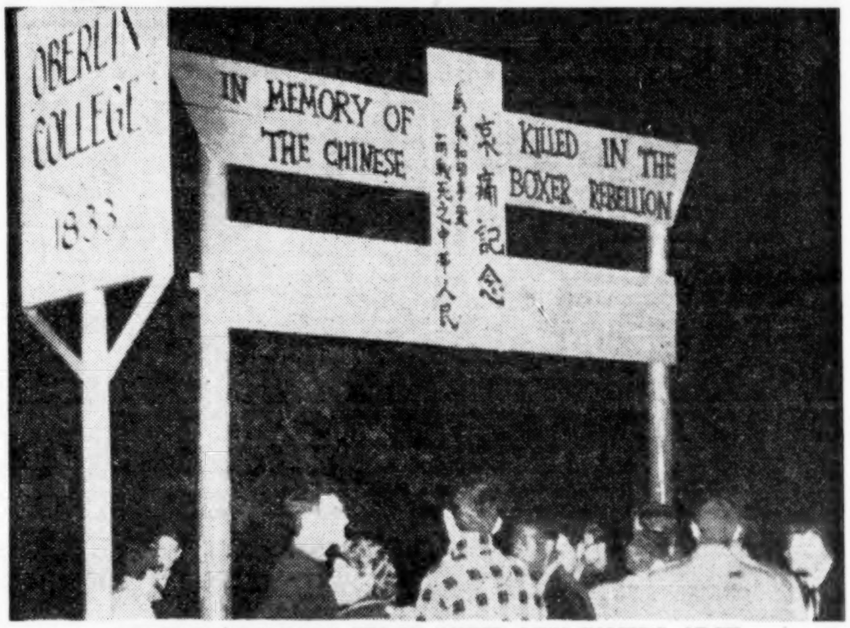
The gathering fight for the Powell-Schuman defense is a new round in the oldest fight in our country. Jefferson won the first round in 1801, knocking out the Alien & Sedition Laws of 1797 as "a nullity." It's about time we won our round. Page four tells how you can help.

—THE GUARDIAN

REPORT OF A TOUR OF U.S. COLLEGES

Dissent grows against campus conformity

By Tim Wohlforth
Editor, The Young Socialist


OBERLIN COLLEGE 1833
IN MEMORY OF THE CHINESE KILLED IN THE BOXER REBELLION

OBERLIN STUDENTS ERECT THEIR OWN CAMPUS ARCH
They became annoyed with the original official one

WHAT IS THE TYPICAL American college student like? The popular image is one of a healthy, athletic young man with a crew cut white shirt open at the collar, khaki slacks and white bucks. He is generally found lounging in front of a plush "frat" house. Primarily career-minded, he seems more concerned with "fitting in" than with political or social problems. Rebellion, when it occurs, takes the form of panty raids for the student "masses," or beards and dungarees for the "intelligentsia."

I have just returned from a nationwide tour for the **Young Socialist** which took me to some 40 different campuses. I visited "assembly line" land grant schools of more than 20,000 students, small private institutions of fewer than 600 students, city colleges with low or no tuition, high tuition "country club" colleges, Catholic, Protestant and secular colleges. From what I observed, I must say there is a disturbing degree of truth in the above picture of the student.

THE BRAND: At the University of Colorado, the fraternity-sorority domination of campus social life had reached a point where the girls went around with Greek letters painted on the seats of their jeans as though they'd all been branded. The fraternity-sorority crowd organized their home-coming day decorations this fall around the theme of "A Little Bit O' Dixie." The decorations were so offensive that the local branch of the NAACP protested and was supported by the college paper and the more liberal elements on the campus.

Other campuses, especially the smaller ones, had an atmosphere of unreality. The students knew little of how the vast majority of the American people live, why workers join unions and why the Negro people are conducting such struggles in the South today.

I remember one campus in particular, the University of Santa Clara. This small liberal arts school is situated on the site of an old Jesuit mission in the San Francisco Bay area and is the oldest college in the west. Well-dressed young men showed me around, pointing out the hundred-year-old wisteria vines, the century plant (I missed the bloom by a couple of years) and cactus garden, the wall of the original mission house. I spoke to a packed room of students spotted here and there with the black garb of the Jesuit Fathers on a topic quite distant from the other-worldly atmosphere of the place—Marxism. Surprisingly enough, the discussion was lively. Even these students showed a sincere interest in social problems, though they were so removed from them on their cloistered little acre.

SOME DISSENT: The conformity and apathy, while dominant, are not all-pervading. Signs of political non-conformity and independent thinking and action can be seen affecting a small but important section of the college community. Most important of all, these trickles of dissent seem to be growing.

Young socialist clubs have sprung up within the past year at such campuses as UCLA, University of California (Berkeley), University of Washington, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Earlham College in Indiana and Oberlin College in Ohio. Even staid old Harvard has not been left untouched. A year ago the only political activity were factional struggles of the Young Republicans. This fall a group of students announced the formation of the Harvard-Radcliffe Socialist Society and some 200 attended its first meeting to hear former Harvard instructor Paul Sweezy speak.

Clubs with somewhat longer history, such as that at the University of Wisconsin (Madison), the Socialist Discussion Club at Antioch College, and Focus at Reed College, have been growing in membership and reported to me larger attendance at their affairs.

NEW SPIRIT: For many years the center of the Oberlin campus has been a large arch on the square commemorating the Américan missionaries who died during China's anti-imperialist Boxer Rebellion in 1900. Annoyed at the heavy preponderance of businessmen among the recipients of honorary degrees at the 125th anniversary of the college this fall, the students decided to celebrate in their own way.

In the middle of the night, they erected their own arch on the square opposite the old one, commemorating the **Chinese** who died in the Boxer Rebellion.

Also significant was the appearance of a liberal student formation, known as SLATE, at the Berkeley campus of the University of California this last year. Its aim was to oppose the fraternity-sorority-administration domination of the campus. The organization has considerable life and vitality and exerts an influence on the campus. It is having the growing pains inevitable for a new group of diverse points of view, and succeeded in getting only one seat on the student council this fall though it fared better before the final run-off election.

FOR PEACE: It is the question of peace that has made the deepest impression on American students. Many students on campus today are in the National Guard or Active Reserves and face being pulled off the campus and sent to Lebanon or Taiwan. Others must take compulsory ROTC. All face the draft upon finishing their studies just when they are seeking to get established in life.

Student SANE groups have been formed on a large number of campuses from coast to coast. Their activities against continued nuclear testing have met with wide student support. I found considerable dissatisfaction with the ROTC, and with State Department policy. The easiest way for a speaker to get a sympathetic response from a college audience these days, I discovered, is to attack John Foster Dulles.

Encouraging these developments has been the weakening of the witchhunt on the campus. Some important victories have been won in this field. The ban on Communist Party speakers at New York's city colleges has been relaxed, as have membership list requirements for campus clubs. The University of California has relaxed its ruling barring radical clubs from campus, so that a socialist club, while technically "off-campus," can now get on-campus facilities. This last spring the Board of Regents of the University of Colorado gave in to the pressure of the Colorado state ACLU, the student Council and the student newspaper and allowed the distribution of the **Young Socialist** on campus.

GROWING RIPPLE: But the campus witchhunt is not dead. A recent victory showed the extent to which the witchhunt has become a part of the everyday functioning of the American university. The Academic Senate of the University of California, Northern Division, adopted a resolution against professors informing to prospective employers and various investigators on the views expressed by students in classrooms. It was revealed that many professors are visited as often as once a week by the FBI for information on their students.

As important as this decision is, it must be noted that other teacher, student and administration organizations have not yet followed the lead of the California professors. Also, the California resolution says nothing about teachers informing on the extracurricular activities and opinions of students.

A ripple of dissent can be noticed in the American university. It has not yet reached large sections of students, nor become an effective social force. But it is there, and it is growing.

WHITE (snow men) ONLY

IN RALEIGH, N.C., **News and Observer** columnist Charles Graven discussed a city recreation department snow man contest, said there would "be two divisions—one for white children and one for colored," but "the snow men in both divisions will be white!" —**Time Magazine, 1/24**

World youth to meet in Vienna

THERE WILL BE A REUNION IN VIENNA
Mira Koltsova (c.) of the Beryozka dancers of the U.S.S.R. at a reception in New York by the U.S. Festival Committee of the World Youth Festival in December.

ABOUT 17,000 PERSONS FROM 140 countries are expected to participate in the seventh World Youth Festival in Vienna, July 26-August 4. The festival will include seminars, discussions and cultural and sports presentations. Emphasis in the discussions will be on astronautics and peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The U.S. Festival Committee, with branches in 12 cities, is working to organize a large delegation "which will reflect all fields of American interests, opinions and locales." Special transportation at reduced rates by plane and ship is being arranged.

Further information may be obtained from the U.S. Festival Committee, 246 Fifth Av., New York 1, N.Y.

A Very Special
Guardian Theater Night
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18
Sidney Poitier
in
A RAISIN
IN THE SUN
by Lorraine Hansberry
with Claudia McNeill and Ruby Dee
Directed by Lloyd Richards

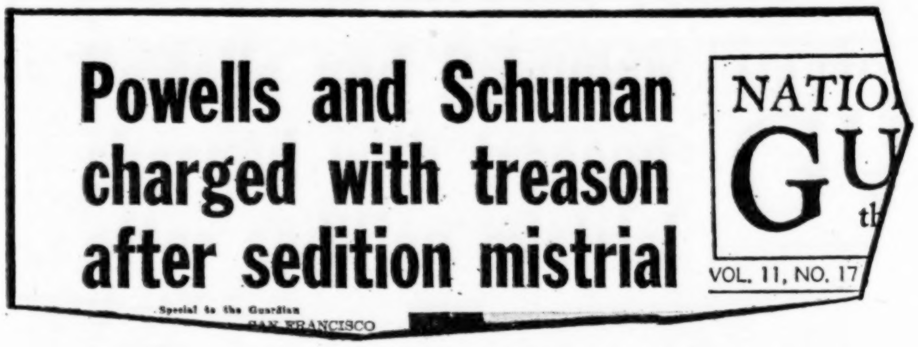
The play, which has received remarkable out-of-town notices, is the first Broadway (Barrymore Theater) play written, directed and acted by Negroes.

Variety commented:
"The play is a gem, beautifully written, expertly staged, forcefully played, absorbingly presented."

Make a date for an evening of exciting theater. Fill in the coupon below or call OR 3-3800.

Guardian Theater Night
197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.

Please send me .... tickets at $10
(orchestra) :........... tickets at $9 (mezz.)
Name ....
Address ....
City .... Zone .... State ....



Powells and Schuman charged with treason after sedition mistrial

NATIO
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VOL. 11, NO. 17

Special to the Guardian
SAN FRANCISCO

HELP THEM — HELP YOURSELF
HELP DEMOCRACY

Three American editors are being prosecuted — solely for what they thought and wrote and published.

First the charge was "sedition". This having failed, the new charge is "treason" — still for thinking, writing, publishing!

We ask these questions:

1. What else can this relentless prosecution mean but a threat to any writer, any speaker, any citizen who might wish to express views critical of his government?

2. How else can it speak to the whole world except as notice *that Americans who differ with authority are subject to dire penalties?*

3. Where else can it take us, if successful, *but right back to the darkest days of the McCarthy era?*

4. How many other American writers, editors, speakers will be laid open to the same attack?

This Must Not Happen. But Only the Action of an Alert Citizenry Can Prevent It!

HOW YOU CAN HELP

1. SEND CONTRIBUTIONS—AS LARGE AS YOU CAN—for the defense of John W. Powell, Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman. This three-year prosecution has already cost them huge sums. As much again will be needed to combat the new indictment!

2. Show this to your friends. Get them to contribute, too.

3. Write your protest to Atty. Gen. William Rogers, Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Give generously — NOW!

Send checks or cash to
FRIENDS OF THE POWELLS AND SCHUMAN
P.O. Box 202, Cooper Station, New York 3, N.Y.*

*Affiliated with Powell-Schuman Defense Fund, Box 1808, San Francisco, Calif.

I enclose ☐ Check ☐ Cash in amount $...................... for the defense fund.
All contributions will be acknowledged unless otherwise requested.

Name ....

Address ....

City .... Zone .... State ....

"Facts on their face indicate abuse of prosecuting function. Trial would have damaging international implications American justice . . ." **—From telegram by Roger N. Baldwin, Jan. 17, 1959, on eve of "sedition" trial.**

". . . presents a serious threat to fundamental liberties, particularly freedom of the press and fair trial."**—From statement on Powell-Schuman indictment by Northern California Branch, American Civil Liberties Union, 1956.**

AN ON-THE-SPOT REPORT

All Venezuela turned out to honor Fidel Castro

VIVA LA CUBA DE

SOME OF THE THOUSANDS OF VENEZUELANS GREETING CASTRO
More than 100,000 waited for him at the Caracas airport

By Harvey O'Connor

CARACAS, VENEZUELA

ONCE IN A BLUE MOON one is privileged to witness a great event. Such was the thundering ovation that greeted Fidel Castro from the time his plane swept in on Maiquetia airport, where 100,000 awaited him, through his triumphal progress along the crowded streets of Caracas, his rapturous reception in El Silencio Square where 300,000 had waited for hours for his arrival, to the explosive welcome next day at the Great Hall of the University where the students nearly blew the ceiling off.

Everywhere Fidel appeared, in his disheveled olive drab uniform and his long beard, his fatigue cap never removed, flanked by dozens of veterans attired exactly the same—the heroes of the Sierra Maestra—the crowds were delirious. And everywhere this man of iron spoke for hours, simply, from the heart, without clichés, about the need of freedom and unity in Latin America, as he recounted the epic story of what must become one of the most remarkable military campaigns in history.

Already Fidel Castro has become a legendary figure in Iberian America—a living proof that dictators armed with the latest in guns and planes made in the U.S.A. and Britain can nevertheless be overthrown by a ragged army of "barbudos"—the bearded ones.

ANNIVERSAY: Castro came to Caracas on the first anniversary of the overthrow of Pérez Jiménez, the Venezuelan dictator, and so his appearance commemorated the victories of both the Cuban and Venezuelan peoples.

At noon on Jan. 21, 1958, the general strike began in Caracas. Prearranged signals, the hooting of forbidden auto horns, the blowing of factory sirens, the tolling of church bells, announced the beginning of the end. In vain the dictator's troops fired at hooting autos, at crowds that refused to disperse.

Then, with Caracas seized by the paralysis of the general strike, Pérez Jiménez two days later slid out of Miraflores Palace to his waiting plane while accomplices lucky enough to get to planes or boats hit out for Miami and the Dominican Republic—two favorite hangouts of ousted dictators.

The presence at the same time of Fidel Castro in Caracas and of President Frondizi of Argentina in the U.S. symbolizes the two tendencies in Latin America. Where is hope to be found, in the hearts of the people, or in the Treasuries of Washington and Wall Street?

ANOTHER BOLIVAR: Castro himself said that for him the ovations in Caracas were more moving than those in his triumphal march up the island of Cuba from Santiago, even when one million people massed in Havana to greet him. For, he said, it was not unexpected that the people of Cuba would welcome their liberator, but the people of Venezuela did not owe their liberation to his "barbudos." In response, the Caraqueños hailed Castro as another Bolivar, the Venezuelan who freed northern South America from the Spaniards.

Castro thanked the people of Venezuela for lending him their moral support, for helping to finance his campaign, and for "algo mas." The "something more," which discreetly could not be named, was in the boats that darted from obscure Venezuelan harbors across the blue sea to even more obscure landing spots on the Cuban coast.

At the great demonstration in El Silencio, the exiles from Trujillo's Dominican Republic marched under massed Dominican flags; hardly had Castro returned to Havana than a meeting in Caracas, overflowing the hall, pledged moral support, money and "algo mas" for the overthrow of the Dominican tyrant.

THE FOUR PARTIES: At the previous comparatively small meeting in El Silencio to celebrate the anniversary of the general strike on Jan. 21 (only 100,000 showed up), the political alignments in Caracas were in evidence. The speakers for Accion Democratica and COPEI were booed and could not be heard. So perhaps it proper now to examine the political spectrum in Venezuela.

There are four major parties. Reading from right to left, they are COPEI, the Social Christian (Catholic) party, Accion Democratica (AD), the Republican-Democratic Union (URD), and the Communist Party (CPV). All four parties, by U.S. standards, would be considered to the left.

Rafael Caldera, leader of COPEI, yields to none in his detestation of atheistic communism, but, he adds, some of his best friends are Communists. He cannot forget that they fought shoulder to shoulder against the dictatorship, wasted away in the same prisons, fraternized in exile. The Communists repay the compliment and praise the Archbishop of Caracas whose church bells heralded the general strike and who now is a sponsor of the committee to overthrow Trujillo. The leader of COPEI insists that Catholic ideas are better than Communist, and that they will win out in the ideological struggle of peaceful co-existence.

THE LINE-UP: The biggest party, and the only really nation-wide party, is Accion Democratica, led by former President Romulo Betancourt, now President-elect. AD controls an absolute majority in the new Congress. It won in the country districts, thanks to its older and more extensive organization. The direction AD takes in the next five years probably will be decisive for Venezuela.

More to the left is URD, led by Jovito Villalba. It is by far the biggest party in Caracas and led AD in several of the larger cities. In this lies the seed for a split between capital and country, the urban centers and the hinterland. It was significant that President-elect Betancourt did not appear publicly in Caracas during Castro's triumphal reception; perhaps he would have been booed as were his party spokesmen. Nevertheless Castro called on him before leaving, with every appearance of a cordial entente between them.

To the left of all is the Communist Party, second strongest in Caracas, and strong in Zulia and Anzoategui, the oil states, but inconsiderable elsewhere. The two wings of the party—red and black—have been reunited under Gustavo Machado (a graduate incidentally of the Sorbonne). It has the smallest representation in Congress, COPEI somewhat more, URD second, but altogether they are a minority for AD has 105 deputies out of 180.

THE PRESS: Most of the newspapers, by U.S. standards, are to the left. **El Universal** is the spokesman of the conservative elements, but the others—**El Nacional, La Esfera, La Razon, Ultimas Noticias, El Mundo**—open their columns to all parties, profess no partisan allegiance, and feature contributions by Communist writers as well as others.

For the time being all four parties are linked in a kind of national union, based on support for unions, agrarian reform, bigger revenues from the oil companies, the creation of a national oil company, and no more oil concessions. On program, there is not too much difference.

Actually Accion Democratica will dominate the new Congress and determine how hard or soft the application of the program will be. From present indications, it is reasonable to expect that the foreign oil companies will continue to find Venezuela a gold mine. The development of a national oil company will take time, and its experience will be decisive in the formation of the nation's future oil policy. In a country which quite literally lives off its oil revenues, this is the one overriding concern of all parties.

UNITY ESSENTIAL: How long will the national union last? There are varying answers. The political leaders, one and all, declare it will last because it must. They have all learned their lessons in the hard school of dictatorship and know that disunity opens their country to the intrigues of the oil companies.

For an entire year unity has prevailed; the booing of AD and COPEI speakers in El Silencio has been generally condemned by all leaders (although it must have been sanctioned in lower echelons of URD and CPV or it wouldn't have happened). That AD and COPEI may form a kind of right bloc and URD and CPV a left, is a possibility.

The aching problems of the great majority of Venezuelans outside the charmed circle of oil—miserably poor, largely illiterate, ravaged by disease—will not await too long the compromises of well-disposed parliamentary leaders. If these problems are tackled honestly and fundamentally, the future of Venezuela seems bright indeed, for the need, the desire and the money for basic social reform are all present in this richest of all Latin American lands.

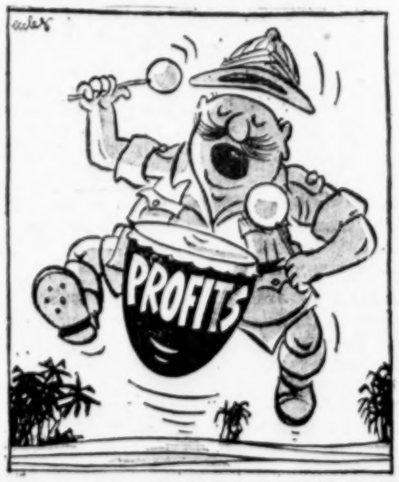
A WORD OF THANKS: It is not customary for correspondents to intrude their private affairs into articles written for the press. But it might seem ungrateful to Venezuelan friends if I did not mention the wholly unexpected reception I enjoyed while in Caracas.

From the time of arrival at Maiquetia airport from Mexico till the farewell party given by Pro-Venezuela, the national businessmen's organization, my wife and I experienced a hospitality unparalleled. They said it was because of the chapter on Venezuela in **The Empire of Oil.** The book was reproduced in a leading newspaper, **La Esfera,** under the dictatorship, but the censorship did not permit publication of the chapter on Venezuela.

The board of the Oil Workers Federation held a reception for us; we were received by the Minister of Mines and Hydrocarbons and flown to the new Government petrochemical plant near Puerto Cabello; the Department of Economics and Pro-Venezuela sponsored a lecture at the National University (my first experience with a head-phoned audience listening to a simultaneous translation); the newspapers published extensive interviews, printed the lecture in full, and asked for more!

For all this, and the courtesies extended by political leaders, I can only say that I will cherish the memories when, upon my return to the States, I face arraignment in Federal court for contempt of the Un-American Committee of the House. What a contrast that will be!

HARVEY O'CONNOR is the author of The Empire of Oil, *soon to be published in Brazil and Argentina. He is gathering material for a new book during his current tour of Latin American countries.*



Eccles in London Daily Worker

"Bongo, Bongo, Bongo, I don't wanna leave the Congo."

Robeson cancels role in Othello

PAUL ROBESON has cancelled his scheduled appearance in "Othello" for the Shakespeare Memorial Theater in Stratford-on-Avon, England, because of severe bronchitis and exhaustion. Rehearsals were to have begun on Feb. 16 for the first performance on April 7. Glen Byam Shaw, director of the theater, said: "It is a very great disappointment to me as I know it will be to our patrons." It was reported that he was seeking Orson Welles as a replacement.

Robeson was stricken in January during a visit to the U.S.S.R. He was treated in a Moscow hospital and is currently recuperating at a rest home there.

In a letter to the theater management, Mrs. Robeson, who is also ailing, wrote: "Paul is heartbroken. This was to have been the peak of his career."

THE STRANGE LIFE OF JACQUES SOUSTELLE

A portrait of de Gaulle's right-hand mystery man

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

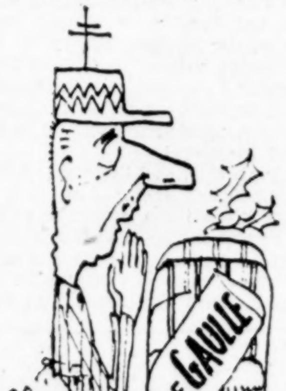
PARIS

NEXT TO PRESIDENT de Gaulle, the name that looms largest on the French political scene is that of the man who holds the title Minister-Delegate to the Premier—Jacques Soustelle. And increasingly it is becoming apparent that this man (actually a Vice Premier) regards himself as a man of destiny. What manner of man is Soustelle, whose name was hardly known before the revolt of the colons in Algeria?

An incident last August gives a good clue. In August Paris celebrates the anniversary of its liberation from the Germans in World War II. As in previous years, representatives of all the resistance movements, from the right to the extreme left, were to participate in the ceremonies. Foremost among them were two resistance leaders: André Tollet and Col. Rol-Tanguy, both Communists.

HE WANTED IT THAT WAY: Tollet is president of the Paris Liberation Committee. During World War II Rol-Tanguy was the chief of the FTP (extreme left-wing interior resistance organization). In 1944, with Gen. Leclerc, he accepted the surrender of Von Choltitz, Nazi governor of Paris. Despite their eminence, to everyone's surprise they were practically excluded from the anniversary ceremonies because Soustelle, then Information Minister, wanted it that way.

One Gaullist minister angrily protested. He said he was tired of having the strings of his own ministry pulled by the Soustelle "network." In the short time he was Information Minister, Soustelle built up this network by planting his own men in the key ministries to check and—if he thought it necessary—to "rectify" the work of these ministries.



Dyad in London Worker
"Send moi le bomb, amen."

A MAN OF SCIENCE: Destiny first beckoned Soustelle in 1937, when he was only 25. Born in a modest Montepelier family, he had already made his mark as a brilliant graduate of the Ecole Normale Superieure, one of France's great schools, and spent three years on ethnological research in Mexico. In 1937, he was appointed assistant director of Paris' famous ethnological Museum of Man, and began a career which won him the reputation as a scientist of considerable gift.

The director was the noted ethnologist Paul Rivet, a Socialist, who had become something of a symbol of unity by being the first Popular Front candidate to win the municipal elections. Most of the young scientists working with him were politically active on the Left. In that atmosphere, Soustelle himself soon became a leader of the Anti-Fascist Intellectuals' Vigilance Committee. But he did not seem destined to be a man of the Left.

THE RIGHT-HAND MAN: Destiny next called Soustelle to London in 1940, where he joined Gen. de Gaulle, then the leader of the Free French forces. In 1943 de Gaulle made him director of his Secret Services, the notorious BCRA (Bureau Central de Recherches et d'Action). Soustelle underwent a metamorphosis in the Gaullist atmosphere. Ideologically he moved, as one observer wrote, "closer to Nietzsche than to Marx."

He made himself invaluable to de Gaulle by blowing up to menacing proportions the temperamental general's regular explosions designed to get operational supplies and facilities. He became adept at political in-fighting: he carried on guerrilla warfare with the regular French intelligence in France, North Africa and elsewhere, which had its own partisan supporters among the British and the Americans.

Strange things happened to emissaries of the French Interior Resistance who arrived in London. They were spied on, questioned in Vichy style: "Are you a Communist? A Free Mason? A Jew?" Those with known left-wing views got nowhere. They were sometimes denounced to the British as enemy spies. Some were struck down mysteriously by cars at night in the dark London streets.

CASE OF COL. PASSY: For a former leader of the anti-fascist intellectuals, Soustelle got along quite well with some unsavory characters in London. One was Col. Passy, a high BCRA official notorious for his right-wing storm-trooper ties. Passy was later accused of falsifying the books and putting away millions of state funds in clandestine accounts.

Some of the money was for his personal use; some he spent in trying to buy the favors of a big Paris newspaper, the rest was intended to be a war chest for later use by de Gaulle to seize power after the war. Passy was held for 60 days after being arrested for "embezzlement of funds"; but he was never tried, nor was he ever disavowed by de Gaulle.

During the war Soustelle's main task seemed to have been to build up de Gaulle's Free French group and play down the role of the resistance forces in France. In 1944, the noted Vercors resistance center, in the heart of France, was under heavy German attack. Soustelle suppressed their repeated messages urging quick aerial support.

JACQUES SOUSTELLE—HIS GOAL IN LIFE IS POWER
From obscurity to one of the most powerful men in France.

ON TO ALGERIA: After the war, he was elected to the Assembly in '45, lost in '46, then became secretary general of de Gaulle's RPF (Rally of the French People). Parisians likened him and his associates to the German Gestapo. In 1955, destiny guided him higher; he was named governor general of Algeria by — ironically enough — Premier Mendès-France just before his government fell.

Soustelle was soon insisting that all Algerians, Moslems or not, were French and that the liberation fighters were "agents of an international conspiracy directed from Cairo and Moscow." By 1957 the left-wing but anti-CP Paris daily **Franc Tireur** was calling Soustelle "the symbol of a Right . . . which dreams of a government of order in Paris and of military reconquest of North Africa."

THE ORGANIZER: In 1956 Soustelle undertook his real big job in Paris: organizing the far-flung, powerful USRAF (Union for the Safety and Restoration of French Algeria), posing as a champion of Algerian integration—economic utopia in a political never-never-land—but preparing the Algerian insurrection. The growth of USRAF, under the Fourth Republic; Soustelle's flight to the Swiss border in the luggage compartment of a friend's car, and thence to Algeria, and his welcome by the ultras as the "Man of Destiny"—all this is now history.

Soustelle demonstrated his organizational ability by building up the USRAF into a force 10,000 strong, populated by former BCRA people, RPF goons, Vichyites and Algerian ultras. He also proved that former BCRA personnel were available and that he knew how to use them.

His views are said to differ from de Gaulle's. But that has never been demonstrated. His position today is second only to Premier Debré's and, as head of France's largest party, the UNR (Union for the New Republic), he wields tremendous power with powerful means at his disposal. And he is a man whose main goal in life is wrapped up in one word: Power.

A testament for Emanuel Bloch

JANUARY 30 was the fifth anniversary of the death of Emanuel H. Bloch. On that date I read again one of the most urgent pleas he ever addressed to a jury, his 40-page summation in the Rosenberg-Sobell trial record.

One can almost hear his voice as he starts by observing that "it is usual when you come into a house to say good evening, and it has sprung up in court that there are certain social amenities, certain preliminaries, certain graces that one goes through." Therefore he thanks the Court for its courtesy and the "dignity and decorum" that befits an American trial. (This beginning is particularly interesting to re-read in view of the way these remarks have frequently been distorted to imply that he conceded the trial had been fair). Then he proceeds to dissect the case against the defendants and to expose the false testimony, imploring the jury:

"One thing alone I ask you, I am entitled to ask that of you under the law . . . these defendants are entitled to ask that of you as human beings: Please take the evidence and sift it, analyze it, take what I said, take what Mr. Saypol [U.S. Attorney] is going to tell you, take what Mr. Kuntz [Morton Sobell's attorney Edward A. Kuntz] is going to tell you when he sums up for Sobell—take these things, weigh them carefully, because in your hands human lives are at stake. That's all I ask you to do, and I say that if you do that, you can come to no other conclusion than that these defendants are innocent and you are going to show the world that in America a man can get a fair trial."

But Emanuel Bloch's pleas for a fair trial were in vain, for the truth was that in the atmosphere of 1951 the defendants could not get a fair trial in America, and, until the day Bloch died, the Rosenbergs' friend and advocate fought to expose the terrible injustice.

Then I continued reading the record and the summation of the case for Sobell by attorney Kuntz, who also died during these years since the trial. After tearing to shreds the testimony of Max Elitcher, Sobell's accuser, he concluded: "Let me tell you ladies and gentlemen, Mort Sobell walked with dignity all his life and he has raised his family with dignity, and I tell you no matter what happens here he will continue to walk with dignity. Then we will leave little miserable Elitcher to his own conscience."

Kuntz's words were prophetic. Morton Sobell continues to walk with dignity, with ever increasing numbers asking his freedom. These words apply also to Emanuel Bloch, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and Edward Kuntz. Those who perpetrated the injustice must live with their conscience. They will fade into history. But the respect for those who stand for truth brightens with each passing year.

Ted Jacobs, Sobell Committee,
940 Broadway, N.Y.C.

Jewish Currents N.Y. dinner to honor Schappes Feb. 22

THE FIRST ANNUAL dinner of the magazine **Jewish Currents** will be held Feb. 22 at 7 p.m. and will honor Morris U. Schappes, completing his first year as editor. A cultural program related to the Sholem Aleichem centennial will be a feature of the evening. Reservations for the dinner, to be held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, Fifth Av. and 9th St., are being accepted at **Jewish Currents**, 22 E. 17 St. Phone WA 4-5740.

THE SKELETON IN THE HOUSE OF LABOR

Jimcrow still rules in some unions

By Robert E. Light

"Hundreds of thousands of our citizens are denied the essential rights guaranteed them under our Bill of Rights because of the color of their skin. This is a national shame, and a shame to the states."

—George Meany, Dec. 9, 1955

WHEN THE AFL-CIO national headquarters was built in Washington in 1955, no Negro craftsman was employed on the job because the building trades unions bar non-whites from membership.

In Washington, D.C., work has been halted for two years on a re-development project because the President's Committee on Government Contracts insists on the employment of Negroes. The construction company and the contractor have agreed, but Local 26 of the AFL-CIO Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers refuses to accept Negroes as members.

The disparity between AFL-CIO President Meany's public statements and actual practice within the labor movement reveals the skeleton in the House of Labor's closet.

DEEP SILENCE: On Dec. 4, 1958, Herbert Hill, labor secy of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, wrote the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Dept. complaining of discrimination by local and international unions. It was followed on Dec. 19 by a letter to Meany from NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins calling the labor leader's attention to Hill's memorandum. To date neither letter has been answered.

But A. Philip Randolph, Negro president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and AFL-CIO vice president, said he would raise the question at the AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting in Puerto Rico later this month. He said he was sure Meany would "cooperate in developing a strong frontal attack on this basic and important question." This was likely to mean a resolution condemning discrimination.

Resolutions from the labor movement against jimcrow, as Hill's memorandum points out, have never been in short supply. Willingness to act on the problem is another matter.

MANY DEVICES: Union discrimination against Negroes takes many forms.

- The most obvious, common in the craft unions, is exclusion of non-whites from membership by constitutional bars or by tacit consent. Where union shop agreements exist, this means total exclusion of Negroes from the trade.
- Many unions maintain jimcrow all-Negro locals which often are forced to sign contracts calling for less pay and benefits than for white employes.

GEORGE MEANY
The word and the deed

- In some international unions there is a double standard for Dixie. In Southern plants organized by Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers, Negroes are kept at the most menial jobs, with limited seniority and promotion rights. In the North, Negroes are employed at most levels in the auto industry and play an active role in the union. But there is no Negro on the union's executive board.
- In Front Royal, Va., a local of the Textile Workers Union provided space in its building for a private school established to avoid integration of the public school system. In New England, the international union stands four-square for civil rights.
- In other parts of the South, Hill's memorandum said, "shop stewards and business agents openly solicit funds and support for the White Citizens Council."

OTHER WAYS: But perhaps the most devious form of discrimination occurs where tough-sounding civil rights resolutions are passed with the tacit understanding that little will be done to enforce them.

At the founding meeting of the merged California AFL and CIO state federations in San Francisco last December, a resolution was passed condemning discrimination in jobs and housing. But an amendment to form a committee to hear grievances against member unions which discriminated against minorities was ruled out of order.

The meeting set up standing committees, including a civil rights body, without naming a Negro to any of them. The leaders said the members were taken from the executive board, which has no Negroes.

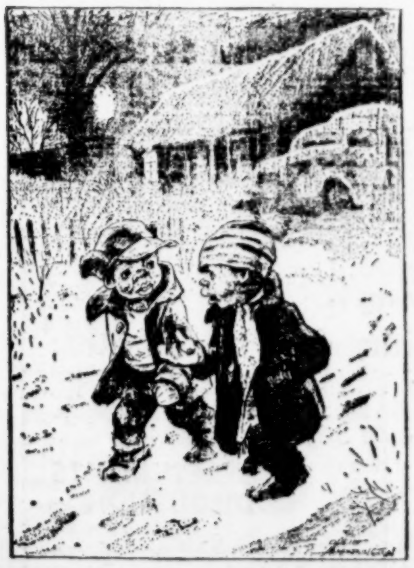
STING IS GONE: In New York the Newspaper Guild is solidly on record for equal-employment opportunities. But only a handful of Negroes work in the editorial departments of the daily newspapers.

City Councilman Earl Brown wrote in the **Amsterdam News,** a Negro weekly: "Some of the unions which were founded on the ideal of equality and started out that way, have shrunken into timid, disinterested, dues-collecting agencies. One of them is the Newspaper Guild, my own union. All the sting and starch apparently have gone out of it, or the men who now run it."

The labor movement in its fighting days was built on a sound base of solidarity—"an injury to one is an injury to all." By 1946 that feeling had all but vanished. When the CIO began its southern organizing drive that year, with an enormous staff and budget, it was hoped there would be a resurgence of the old militancy. But un-starched leaders announced a policy to organize in the traditions of the region. That meant jimcrow locals. The drive failed.

TIME FOR A CHANGE: Today the labor movement is still confronted with the challenge of organizing the South. More and more run-away industries are settling in Dixie where wages are low and unions scarce. Long since in the textile industry southern wage scales have forced wages down in the North; the threat now exists for electrical workers and many others.

The need for an enlightened and determined campaign by the AFL-CIO to organize the South is clear. But as the Negro weekly California **Eagle** said: "Integration, like charity, should begin at home." And many rooms in labor's house carry a "For Whites Only" sign.

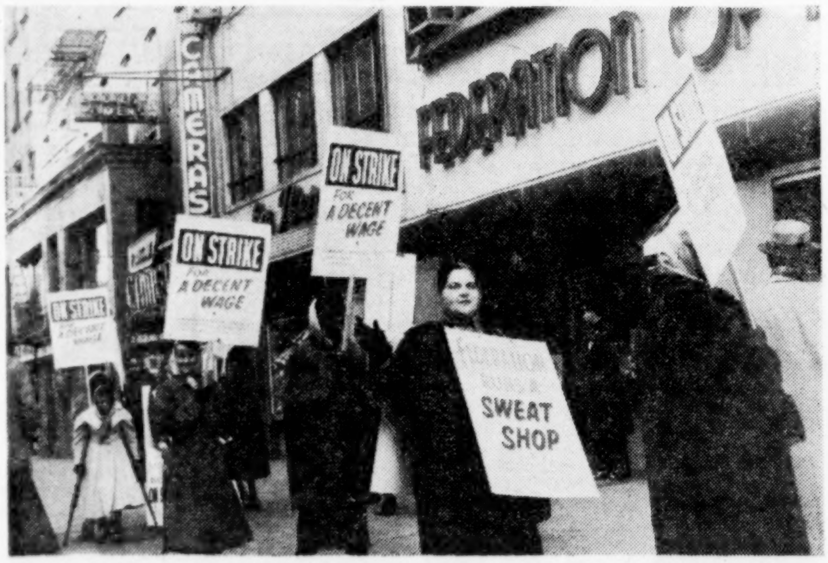


Harrington in Pittsburgh Courier

"Man, you realize how lucky we are? In some states us cullud folks has to stay indoors when it snows 'cause it's against the law to touch ANYTHING white!"

SWEAT SHOP OR TRAINING CENTER?

Social agency for the handicapped hit by strike



PICKET LINE BEFORE THE FEDERATION OF THE HANDICAPPED
They got $1 an hour, but the plant earned $900,000 last year

A PHOTOGRAPH of Louis Little, a man with a physical handicap, appears on New York subway posters under the caption: "The Way Back Is Back To Work." The posters ask for funds for the Federation of the Handicapped. But Little does not know when he is going back to work; he is on strike along with 100 other employes of the Federation.

They claim they have been working under raw conditions in a Federation-operated factory supplying electronic parts to the Bendix Aviation Corp. They want a union and a contract.

The Federation, a non-profit organization incorporated as a charity, says unions have no place in their plant because it is a training and rehabilitation institution.

OUT OF TUNE: There has been little harmony in the plant for a long time. Some of the employees decided to ask the AFL-CIO Community & Social Agency Employes to organize the shop. "Within two weeks," Alvin De Vega, chairman of the strike committee, told the GUARDIAN, "we had signed up 100 of the 110 workers. I couldn't get union cards fast enough."

On Dec. 29, 13 employes were laid off without notice because of a shortage of materials. The next day four more were let go, including three who were active in organizing the union. The employes called a work stoppage and demanded reinstatement of the 17, union recognition and negotiation on wages and working conditions.

Meetings were arranged through the New York State Board of Mediation with Federation exec. dir. Milton Cohen and some members of the non-salaried board of directors. A tentative agreement was reached holding union recognition in abeyance, subject to approval by the full board of directors. The directors refused to negotiate. Dr. Leo Mayer, president of the Federation, announced: "It was the consensus of the board that an organization such as ours is not a fit place for a union."

INQUIRY ASKED: The employes put a picket line around the Federation building and set up strike headquarters on Jan. 8. They have maintained both ever since; no one has gone back to work and there have been no further meetings with the management.

On Feb. 4, in answer to the union's appeal to several civic groups for an impartial inquiry, the Protestant Council of Greater New York announced it would seek a fact-finding study of the situation. Council member Austin Warner said: "I feel there is truth on both sides and I feel the workers have reason for urging further inquiry."

The strikers are certain that an investigation would find that the factory is a commercial enterprise and not a social agency. They point out:

- The plant earned $900,000 for the Federation last year and because of its success exec. dir. Cohen was given a $9,000 bonus.
- About 65% of the employes are non-handicapped. One non-handicapped striker told the GUARDIAN: "I was hired through an ad in the **Journal-American** which didn't mention training at all. It asked for three year's experience. I got the job because I had ten years."
- Handicapped employes receive no therapy. If they fail to meet standards they are fired and there is no attempt to place them in private industry.
- Station wagons bought by the Federation supposedly to transport the handicapped in bad weather are used to deliver parts to Bendix.

SWEAT SHOP: Working conditions, they say, are more like a sweat shop than a rehabilitation center. The base wage rate at the plant is $1 an hour plus incentives; at the Bendix plant the same job, under the same standards, brings $2.42 an hour. Overtime is paid at straight rates. There are no seniority, sick leave, severance or grievance rights. One handicapped striker said: "I get docked a day's pay every time I go to get my special shoes fitted."

Some of the strikers have gotten jobs elsewhere, but many are trying to support families on strike benefits. They welcome contributions to the Federation of the Handicapped Strike Fund, 149 W. 28 St., New York 1, N.Y.

East-West thaw

(Continued from Page 1)

The conservative **Yorkshire Post** had "little doubt that Mr. Khrushchev would be delighted by a relaxation of tension." It said that the Soviet Premier would "stand or fall" by the seven-year plan he had "just piloted" through.

The **Manchester Guardian** saw 2 steps to an alternative solution to the present deadlock on Germany:

"One is the withdrawal of foreign troops in Germany to a roughly equal distance from both sides of the Iron Curtain. The other is a controlled agreement by both sides not to station nuclear arms in a similar or larger area."

BACK MAMILLAN TRIP: Macmillan was aware that dispatches from NATO capitals indicated a strong dislike for Dulles' desire to use ground troops to force the way to West Berlin if the East Germans after May 27 impose a blockade.

Thirty Labor MP's urged the government to suspend work on nuclear rocket bases and stop the flight of U.S. bombers over Britain with nuclear weapons to create "the most favorable atmosphere" for Macmillan in Moscow.

Following his visit to Britain Dulles went to Paris and Bonn where he found the reception more favorable to his stand-pat policy. Both President de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer seemed even more determined than Dulles to maintain the status quo in Central Europe: Adenauer for squeezing the utmost out of the cold war to strengthen West German economy and military power; and de Gaulle supporting Adenauer for underwriting French economic and political control over North Africa.

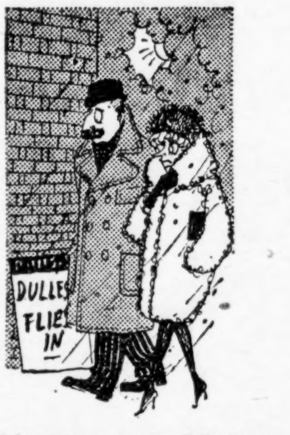
THE TAPE RECORDING: Despite this, when Dulles returned to Washington, West European diplomats were predicting a Big Four foreign ministers' meeting in April, perhaps followed by another summit meeting. Some observers felt that the fear of Macmillan being influenced by Khrushchev and the possibility of some progress towards disengagement in Central Europe were the reasons for the timing of Washington's release of the tape recording in relation to the U.S. plane incident over Soviet Armenia.

On Sept. 2 last year a U.S. C-130 with 17 men aboard crashed in Soviet Armenia across the Turkish border. On Sept. 24 the Soviet Union returned the bodies of six, denied any knowledge of the fate of the other 11 men. State Dept. officials say the tape recording proves the plane did not crash but was shot down. Moscow has called the recordings a fabrication.

Whatever the facts in this incident, the truth is that military planes of the Western powers have been violating the air space of the socialist countries for the last eight years. In 1953 British and U.S. planes were involved in such violations over Czechoslovakia, East Germany and the coast of Siberia.

MANY 'INCIDENTS': In 1954 Associated Press managing editors meeting in Tampa, Fla., were told that most U.S. planes shot down in "incidents" north of Japan were reconnaissance planes violating Soviet territory. **Missiles and Rockets**, the world astronautics magazine, said in January, 1958, that U.S. planes have been flying mapping missions over the Soviet Union to demonstrate America's "overwhelming retaliatory ability." U.S. Strategic Air Command bombers, as **Time** magazine noted (4/28/58), have been flying near and over Soviet territory from U.S. bases all over the world.

An article on the CIA in the current **Progressive** magazine tells of many flights of U.S. planes over the Soviet Union. In the spring of 1958, the Oxford University magazine **Isis** published an account of U.S.-British espionage. Its authors, Paul Thompson and William Miller, were formerly of "a secret branch of the Royal Navy." At their trial for breach of the Official Secrets Act, the prosecution admitted in court that parts of the article were true.



Lancaster in London Daily Express

"One might have guessed that that little harbinger of spring was on his way!"

THE DANGERS: The article described monitoring stations "all along the frontier between the East and the West," where servicemen trained in Morse code and Russian were "avidly recording the least squeak from Russian transmitters—ships, tanks, aeroplanes, troops and control stations."

Last June 27 another U.S. plane was forced down in Soviet Armenia and its crew was repatriated. In a note about other incidents in the Sea of Japan and the Baltic area, Moscow last Dec. 15 warned the U.S. it would have to take the consequences of such incidents..

BASED ON ROSENBERG ARTICLE

$100,000 libel suit filed against 'Look' by Reuben

WILLIAM A. REUBEN, free lance reporter and author of **The Atom Spy Hoax**, has filed suit against **Look** magazine for $100,000 for libel in the **Look** article of Oct. 29, 1957, purporting to be based on new Dept. of Justice findings in the Rosenberg-Sobell Case.

The libel charge calls "false and defamatory" a portion of the article which said that "in August, 1951, the Communist press suddenly adopted the Rosenberg Case as a cause celebre . . . By December, 1951, the campaign was in high gear with the formation of the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case."

Reuben was not mentioned by name in **Look**, but his articles from August to October, 1951, in the GUARDIAN were the only writings at that time on the case; and Reuben was the provisional chairman of the Rosenberg Committee formed at that time by GUARDIAN readers.

THE CHARGE: The libel complaint charges that the **Look** article "was intended to convey the meaning and was understood to mean by the persons who read it" that Reuben was "a Communist, a member of the Communist Party of the United States or elsewhere and was under the direction and control of Communist authority and its agents."

At the time the **Look** article appeared, the Morton Sobell defense was seeking a Supreme Court review of his conviction and 30-year sentence as a participant in the alleged conspiracy for which the Rosenbergs were executed.

The purported new material referred to in the **Look** article was never issued as a government report, as promised in the article.

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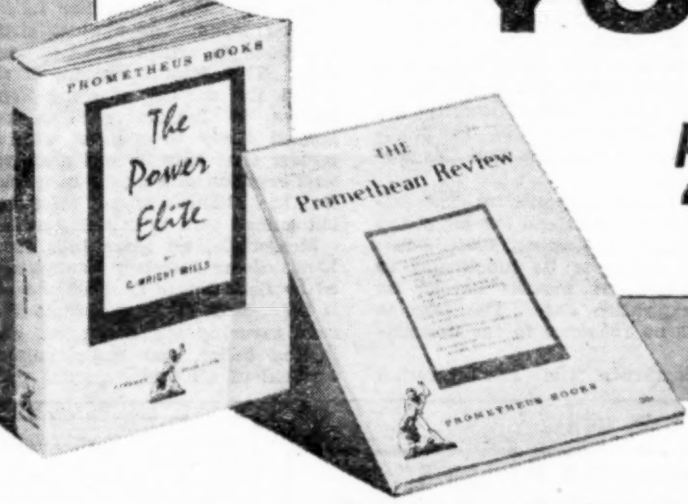

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Economic Report

(Continued from Page 1)

ants. But organized labor cannot accept responsibility for the money spent for these purposes—still less accept it as a charge against wages.

LABOR COSTS FELL: This is what really happened: Payrolls of factory production workers went up 6.5%, production 3.6%. So labor costs per unit of output went up 2.9%, instead of 10% claimed in the Report. Prices of finished goods went up 6.5%, more than twice the labor cost increase, and the cost of living index went up 5%. As usual, labor costs lagged behind prices. Actually, wages did not go up enough to compensate workers for higher productivity, nor to validate higher prices charged by manufacturers.

The Report cited price increases in 1958 but did not go beyond 1957 in wage costs.

This is why: In 1958, as compared with 1957, unit labor costs fell 2.6% wiping out the rise of the previous years. At the same time prices of finished goods went up another 2.3% and the cost of living went up another 2.7%.

THE PRICE-RIGGERS: Now consider the entire five-year period since the end of the Korean War. Unit labor costs went down 1.5% in 1953-58, while finished goods went up 9.4%. Thus labor cannot be blamed for any of the post-Korean inflation. While productivity per worker went up 19.1%, real wages per worker went up 6.5% (less after taxes). Factory workers got one-third of the wage increases needed to maintain their proportionate share. Statistics of the highly-organized construction industry tell a similar story.

Even as it slanders labor, the Report whitewashes monopoly price-rigging: "The increase in prices that did occur was less than the rise in costs, however, with the result that profits per unit of output were lower in 1956 and 1957 than in 1955."

As has been shown, the increase in prices was more than the increase in real costs. That is why profits of many corporations are already breaking previous records while production—and especially employment—remains below previous highs.

THE THREAT: The Report lectures "leaders of labor unions" on the harmful effects to employment, economic growth and price stability of wage increases "not justified by productivity performance." It warns that if the union leaders do not show "restraint" the alternatives will be either inflation or controls.

But the criterion for judgment is a dishonest one, rigged to find an inadequate wage rise excessive. Price gouges are thus approved in advance while the propaganda barrage for an ultimate wage freeze is laid down.

The attack has already begun with the proposals for legislation to regulate unions, restrict their power to picket and boycott products, and otherwise weaken unions under the open-shop slogan of protecting the "rights of the individual." With bi-partisan support, and top union leadership compromising, this attack seems destined for at least partial success.

In addition, there is a policy proposal to amend the Employment Act of 1946 to make price stability an explicit goal of Federal policy, on a par with "maximum" employment. Bankers and industrialists have sought such an amendment for years, as propaganda against government welfare spending, job-creating projects and improvements in labor conditions. The cry is that these are inflationary.

ECONOMIC REPORTS GET HEAVY
Above, the budget is delivered

GENERAL TRENDS: The Report's discussion of economic trends includes Hooverish platitudes and boasts of the "remarkable power to resist contractive pressures" of the economy. Significant admissions are:

- A chart showing the rapid growth of excess capacity, continuing during 1958, and impeding a new boom.
- Discussion of the continuing harmful effects on the U.S. economy of the slump in Western Europe.
- Documentation of the decisive role of bigger armament orders in the recovery from the 1958 slump.

Unfortunately, the AFL-CIO counters the line of the Report with (1) a timid program which will inspire no one, (2) support for the all-out military spending drive being promoted by the strange alliance of the Rockefellers, the Democratic leadership and the Americans for Democratic Action.

In Michigan significant labor action on the unemployment front is taking place. If such rank-and-file actions spread, they may still bring to the fore a real alternative to the Eisenhower-big business economic program for 1959.

Congress story

(Continued from Page 1)

pattern prevailed as the Senate voted an airport construction bill. The President had proposed a $200,000,000 four-year program. The Democrats introduced a bill calling for expenditures of $565,000,000 for five years. On the motion of Majority Leader Johnson, the Democratic measure was cut by $100,000,000 and passed by a 63-22 vote.

CIVIL RIGHTS: With the unveiling of the long-awaited Administration proposals on civil rights, the stage was set for a full-scale debate and eventual Congressional action on the nation's most vexing domestic problem. The Eisenhower program was sponsored in the Senate by Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois. It followed a weak measure introduced by Sen. Johnson himself, and a stronger bill sponsored by Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) and a bipartisan group of 16.

The Administration bill includes a policy statement, nearly five years after the Supreme Court decision against school segregation, that the ruling is the "supreme law of the land." But the bills' specific provisions make this declaration seem like a restrained recognition of reality and not an enthusiastic endorsement of the Court's judgment.

The Administration proposed to enforce the law with characteristic moderation. Some Southern Democrats attacked the bill as "radical," but Johnson's reaction was friendly. Some observers felt that in anticipation of the rejection of his own measure, he was preparing the ground for support of the President's own program as a foil against the more vigorous Douglas proposal.

MORE TENDER WARRIORS
Three new students in Norfolk

A COMPARISON: On key civil rights issues the three measures compared as follows:

- **Policy:** The Administration proposal recognizes the Supreme Court decision as "the supreme law of the land." The Douglas bill explicitly approves Court decisions outlawing segregation in schools, transportation and recreation. The Johnson bill is silent on this score.
- **Desegregation Aid:** The Administration and Douglas measures would empower the Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare to spend money and provide technical assistance to communities seeking to desegregate schools. The Douglas bill would further enable HEW to draw up integration plans where communities resist and have the Dept. of Justice submit them to the Federal courts for approval. The Johnson bill has no such provisions.
- **Voting:** Under the Administration bill state voting registrars would be obliged to keep their records for three years and the Dept. of Justice would be empowered to subpena them in investigations of vote-discrimination charges. The Johnson bill also permits subpenaing of records. The Douglas bill makes no reference to the problem.
- **Bombings:** The Administration bill makes it a crime to flee across state lines to escape prosecution for hate bombings. The Johnson bill penalizes transporting explosives across state borders for bombings. The Douglas bill has no provision on the subject.
- **Government initiative:** The Douglas bill empowers the Attorney General to bring law suits where any citizen is denied his constitutional rights in school or other matters but is unable to sue for himself. Neither of the other measures touches this area.
- **Interference with court orders:** The Administration bill makes it a crime to obstruct Federal court desegregation orders by violence or threats. The Johnson and Douglas measures omit this provision.
- **Civil Rights Commission:** The Administration would extend the life of the Commission to September, 1961. Johnson would authorize its functioning to January, 1961, 14 months beyond its present expiration date. The Douglas bill makes no reference to the Commission.
- **Employment:** The Administration bill would have Congress set up a commission to promote equal job opportunities under Government contract, thus giving statutory support to a similar body now functioning under executive order. Nothing on this in the other two bills.
- **Military personnel:** The Administration bill provides for the education of children of military personnel shut out of public schools by state closure orders. The Johnson and Douglas bills contain no such provision.
- **Conciliation:** The Johnson bill, alone, would establish a Federal community relations service to conciliate civil rights disputes.

IN EASTLAND'S HANDS: The key point of difference, and the major element of strength in the Douglas bill, is the provision for Dept. of Justice initiative in seeking injunctions against civil rights violations in school cases or any other area. The Administration, having rejected the counsel of some Republican leaders to include such a proposal, seemed likely to counter with the reminder that only its bill deals with the vital question of jimcrow in employment. But the chances of an effective FEPC bill seemed slim in this Congress.

Meanwhile, all three bills are in the hands of the Judiciary Committee, headed by Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi. And Johnson seemed to be almost savoring the confusion, unshaken in the belief that compromise is the cardinal of all Congressional virtues.

The pot boileth over

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—Cincinnati **Post & Times Star**, Feb. 7

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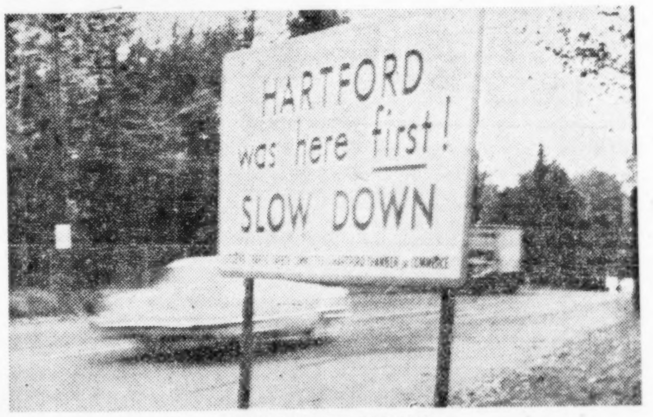
THE GALLERY

TO THE NATL. ASSN. OF MANUFACTURERS, Herbert V. Kohler was "Man of the Year" in 1958, possibly because the strike at his plant in Sheboygan, Wisc., is nearing its fifth year. But to nephew Walter J. Kohler he is something else. The nephew is suing his uncle for $250,000 for an alleged stock swindle . . . . Fisk U. in Nashville, Tenn., is naming its new dormitory for its alumnus, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois . . . . British distillers announced they sold more Scotch whisky last year than ever before. Best customers, they said, were Americans . . . . Dr. Cornelius Beukenkamp, psychiatrist, says there are 12½ times more suicides than murders in the U.S. . . . They laughed in Melbourne, Australia, when the band leader screamed into the microphone. They thought he was singing rock 'n roll. But he wasn't; he got a severe shock from his short-circuited electric guitar.

CARDINAL CUSHING of Boston thinks Mikoyan's visit was for "the purpose of persuading the U.S. to build up Soviet defense, thus making it more imperative that we, in turn, build up a higher wall and higher taxes for our own defense." He doesn't like our domestic policy either. He says when he was a boy, "it was unknown that the poor would not go to church. It was the last thing they would neglect. Now, with social security and welfare checks coming in, they are not interested in the church . . . . Their former dependence on God, upon the personal charity of those representing religion, has been psychologically unsettled by the welfare state." . . . . A bill introduced in the state Assembly in Jefferson City, Mo., bars the teaching of evolution in any Missouri public school, university or college.



WHAT'S IT MEAN?
Most drivers slow down to ponder this cryptic message

AL DELAFONTAINE, head of the Indian Trades Council representing about 200 Indians in Minnesota, the Dakotas and Montana, appealed to N. Dakota Gov. Davis for aid so "we can get some kind of industry started on the reservations." He got no encouragement so he decided to lead a delegation to Washington later this month. But, he said, "I am convinced the American government has no intention of helping Indians to get their heads above water. The only job an Indian can get now is shining somebody's lousy shoes." If Washington doesn't help, he has another resource. He called the Russian Embassy and asked for a $5,000,000 loan. He said: "They sounded very encouraging and we might get some money from them." . . . In India 17 statues of Britain's Queen Victoria were removed from public parks as part of the government's policy of pulling down memorials to foreign rulers which are "offensive to Indian national sentiment." Prime Minister Nehru said that statues which were of historic or artistic importance would be placed in museums. Of the others he said, "If someone wants them we will make a present of them."

WHAT PAGE DO YOU READ? Page one of the Jan. 5 issue of the Union City, N.J., **Hudson Dispatch** reported that the House Committee on Un-American Activities said "espionage had played a vital role in keeping Russia abreast of the U.S. in the scientific and technological field 'and in giving it the opportunity to outstrip us in some areas once it has acquired our basic secrets." Page 11 of the same paper, same issue, reported that "the Soviet Union's [scientific] successes according to [former German scientist] Dr. Wolfgang E. Thouret, is due to the capture of German scientists during World War II.". . . The following is reprinted in its entirety from the Jan. 17 isssue of New York City's **Amsterdam News:** "In the Nov. 22 issue of the **Amsterdam News** in a story on the waterfront situation, we referred to Anthony Anastasia of Local 1814 as a 'mobster.' The **Amsterdam News** apologizes for the use of this term in referring to Mr. Anastasia and did not intend that it reflect in any way upon his good name and character."

—**Robert E. Light**

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the SPECTATOR

Land of the Tuscaroras

BACK AROUND THE MIDDLE of the 16th century—some 50 years before Jamestown—five great American Indian nations, living in what is now western New York State, decided to renounce war amongst themselves and to present an alliance to an outside world of war and conquest. Their leader and prophet, Deganawida, proclaimed the code of the Iroquois Confederacy:

"I, Deganawida, and the confederated chiefs, now uproot the tallest pine tree, and into the cavity thereby made we cast all weapons of war. Into the depths of the earth, deep down into the under-earth currents of water flowing to unknown regions, we cast all weapons of strife. We bury them from sight and we plant again the tree. Thus shall the Great Peace be established."

For a couple of centuries the Five Nations lived and prospered under this code of peace, until the white settlers became numerous enough to war upon the Indians, or to involve the Indians in their own wars.

AT THE TURN OF THE 18th CENTURY, the Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina were having a bad time. Among other things, the white settlers were kidnaping Tuscarora children to make them slaves. The Tuscaroras fought the British for a couple of years, but they lost and were driven out. They trekked north and settled in the Iroquois country, and in 1714 they became the sixth member nation of the Confederacy.

During the War of Independence, the Tuscaroras, together with some other tribes, supported the colonies in their revolt. Lt. Nicholas Cusick, a Tuscarora Indian, served as personal bodyguard to Gen. Lafayette. When white planters cut off food supplies to Washington's army at Valley Forge, the Tuscaroras and the Oneidas fed the troops through the winter. Washington wrote later: "If the Indians had been our enemies instead of our friends, the war would not have ended in American independence."

As a small return for such a large favor, the Tuscarora Indians were granted a reserve of land of 6,249 acres and guaranteed "peaceful possession" in Federal treaties going back to 1786.

ABOUT 18 MONTHS AGO another pale-face decided to move in on the Tuscaroras. Robert Moses is a public servant in New York State—at 70 he still holds ten public jobs—who regards the public as an unbearable nuisance when it gets in the way of one of his grandiose projects. Wearing his hat as chairman of the State Power Authority and armed with a license from the Federal Power Commission, he launched a $700,000,000 power project near Niagara Falls which, without consultation with the Indians, involved flooding 1,383 acres of the Tuscarora reserve.

The Indians weren't willing to be flooded out. When surveyors were ordered into the reserve, the Indians warned against trespassing, announced that none of their land was for sale, sought and got the support of the other Nations of the Confederacy—the Mohawks, Cayugas, Senecas, Oneidas and Onondagas.

When surveyors turned up in April, 1958, backed by about 100 sheriffs, state police and plainclothesmen armed with tear-gas and sub-machine guns, they were met by 200 protesting Indians. Three Tuscarora leaders—Wallace Anderson, John Hewitt and William Rickard—were arrested, and the women and kids (4- and 5-year-olds) went after the cops. There was quite a scuffle but no injuries and not much damage. This went on for several days, and then the whole matter was taken to the courts by both sides.

Later, Moses' agency picked up a tab of $1,026 for 385 man-hours of overtime by the sheriff's department during the "uprising."

Tuscarora leader Wallace remarked that for more than 500 years Indians have been trying to convince white folks "that Columbus did not discover America."

THE COURT ACTION BECAME quite involved with several actions by both sides going on at the same time, but the Indians stood firm. Tuscarora head chief Elton Greene at one point remarked: "I'm the same age as Bob [Moses] and I'm as stubborn as he is . . . We think our land is very sacred. The Indian loves nature. He loves trees. He loves everything that grows. We want to hang on to everything we got because if we lose this what will happen to the rest? Moses offers $1,000 an acre. But the way we see it, money evaporates, but the land doesn't."

During the proceedings State Power Authority counsel Samuel I. Rosenman sought to show that the Indians were a little loose with their land, but Indian witnesses testified that according to law their land cannot be sold to outsiders. Chief Greene said that within the reserve there is much informal selling and trading of land among members, but that no formal records are kept.

"No formal records?" said Judge Rosenman.

"No," said Chief Greene, "we trust in each other."

Rosenman seemed incredulous: "You mean you trust each other?"

The Chief smiled: "Absolutely."

ON FEB. 2 the Federal Power Commission, as a result of the long court actions, ruled 3 to 2 that the Indians cannot be compelled under Federal law to give up part of their reserve.

The Indians were happy.

Robert Moses was spluttering. He called the decision "indefinite, contradictory and inconclusive" and said it was "official gobbledygook." By last week he was still spitting dust.

—**Lawrence Emery**

Warms ours, too

KEW GARDENS, N.Y.

My deepest gratitude for the wonderful service you give to your readers. With your courage and understanding of the needs of a liberal-minded person, you very often warmed my heart.

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